177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

Chapter 4

[100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes.
[726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the
• 171 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They
[114] perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

171 535 [114] Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hũvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said [648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the 648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de- [726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to [731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this 648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con- 166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became apparent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

826 admiration for the whiteness of my skin, not for its softness, for in this respect they could not be surpassed. My camarada Daniel, a northern Brazilian who was almost as dark as they were, did not attract as much attention. The skin tone they consider most attractive, however, must not seem to them as remote from their own color as it seems to us, for they characterized their own skin exactly as they did mine, with the terms chinga and typiánia, both of which mean "white." Whether these Tapirapé words differ in [196] scope from our own term for "white," or whether the yearning for the ideal makes the Indians appear to themselves as lighter than they actually are, this is in any case a prime example of the possibility of broad differences in the conceptualization of such seemingly concrete phenomena and shows the researcher the desirability of comparing, whenever possible, his own observations with the information provided by the Indians.

Other native peoples of South America also prefer white skins. Fritz Krause (2, 185) writes: "The ideal of the Karajá is the whitest skin possible; they prized my white complexion very highly, and they themselves wished to be quite white (cf. the role of white people in their myths)."

In 1663, Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) wrote that the Indians of Brazil told the Portuguese their own ancestors had been "people of white complexion," and when they were asked why they had not remained white, they answered (LXI): "Let us make an experiment: exchange your clothing for ours, and go about naked in the sun and in the rain, as we do; and you will soon see that [105:83] you have turned from white to our own hue." Consequently, just as according to the words of the Tapirapé there is no difference between their color and mine, the Indians to whom Vasconcellos is referring clearly stated that they regarded their own skin as basically identical to that of the Portuguese.

Not only do forest Indians, such as the Tapirapé, and river Indians, such as the Karajá, prefer white complexions, but so do savanna Indians, such as the Toba. In the universal conflagration myth of this Chaco tribe, only one man survived the fire that destroyed the entire earth. "But there was no woman. Then they lowered down from the sky a woman tied to a rope, and they cut the rope from above when the woman was close to the earth. Because they cut it very close to the ground, she came out ugly, but

171 826 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by [302] nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairahó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close [171] and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

171 When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis 192 sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakán (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohãua to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakuí, "my penis," and hãua, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a [287] strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [881] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the [171] haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
291 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177
301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the
301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo.
●[171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck-
[855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé
[674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut
302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair
171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2
302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys
[856] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 302 765 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 [177] [412] Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107 is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

302 171 515 [107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267) wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[314] Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [881] [764] [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends, and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 593 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 261 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
[237] (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
● 171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
[114] tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

304 171 882 It should be pointed out further that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

302 386 [108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

[171] The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while [192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

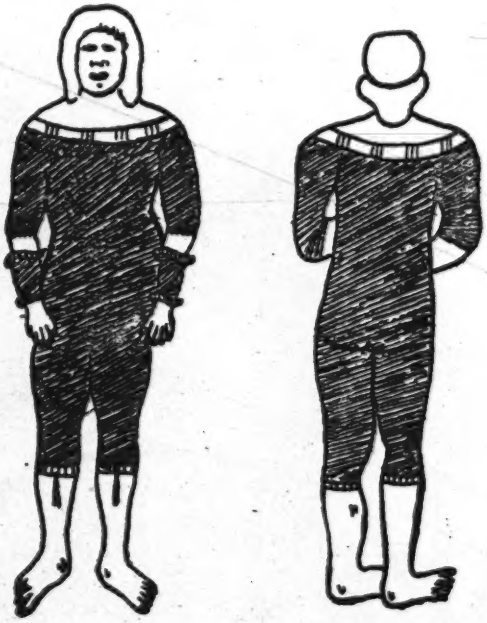

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihauáua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar ● [171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

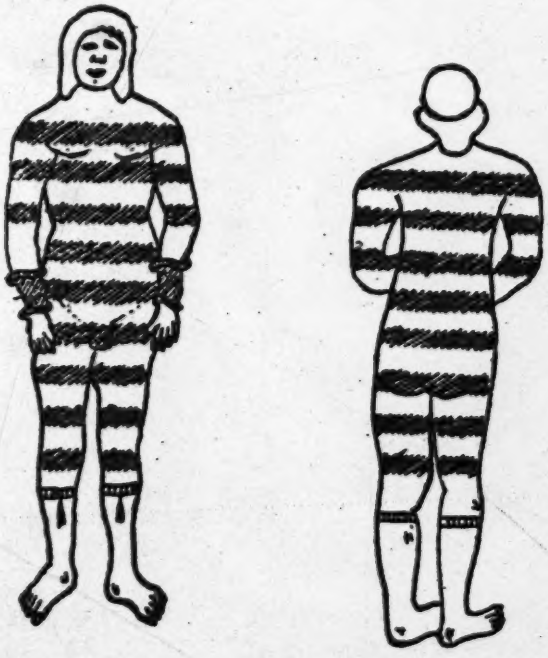

Fig. 3. Ipihauáua male body painting.

it on the arms.

302 While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer 881 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

302 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
88 among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[171] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a matching design on [108:126] the back. The tips of these last

Fig. 4. Chankoaka male body painting.

eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
302 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome insects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time, would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

302 789 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the caul of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. [291] A person like the Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

101 ●171 302 In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

301 237 [881] According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage (avió, aviú) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

301 The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
237 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
[314] crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[381] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
●[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]):
"... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
776 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
●[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
292 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in
[283] Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Boróro (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 301 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epidemics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments. [182] [764] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanamú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 292 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., 301 881 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 301 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

301 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
324 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
[192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white
[135] stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitíua, near Moytíua, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitíua, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kaniõ to show me how it was worn. It became

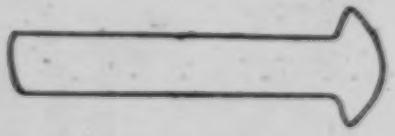

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kaniõ coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

● 171 In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
301 Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:78] Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 18) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitíua, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

171 bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
301 The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manutere) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The [439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (ibid., 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and [304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band. [439] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109:79] The same author [Métraux] states (2, 167-168): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

171
301 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug." I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
[462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
[412] needle (chuúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
[439] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

I saw few of them in Tampiitáua, and those extant were worn exclusively by youths who had already been initiated (Photos. 10 and 70). Among the Karajá, however, these objects are also worn on the forearms of young girls and children (Krause, ibid., Plates 16, 18, 45, Fig. 3).

The garters (deobuté in Karajá, according to Krause, ibid.) are strips with reinforced edges and tassels hanging down the front. Indian women close them with crochet stitches directly on the leg, that is to say, just below the knee. Each of the garters in the pair reproduced in Photograph 14a, which had been used by a Tapirapé man, is two and a half centimeters wide and 25 centimeters in circumference, while the tassels are 12 centimeters long. A pair of garters belonging to a little girl had the same width, and its tassels were 20 centimeters long. Among the Tapirapé, the garters are worn by girls before puberty (Photos. 3 and 9), by boys (Photos. 28, 53, 61, and 69) and by adult males (Photos. 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 61, and 68). The same applies to the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plates 11, 15, 16, 36, 38, 43, and 45). According to Krause (ibid., 226 and Plate 44), they frequently tie up the tassels in the back to prevent them from being an encumbrance while running and on long walks. Sometimes, among the Tapirapé, these tassels are merely cut off (Photo. 39).

Only a few little girls in Tampiitáua wore tamankurá at the ankles while I was there (Photos. 3, 9, 12). This ornament is a cylinder with a reinforced and outcurving lower edge and fringes as long as the tamankurá itself hanging from the upper edge. One specimen was 12 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end and 16 at the lower end, while the lower edge was four centimeters wide. I was told that certain social and spiritual leaders such as Kamairahó, Vuatanamy, and Urukumy had also worn similar ornaments before puberty. Among the Karajá, I saw boys as well as girls with bands at the ankles. These were distinct, however, from the corresponding tamankurá of Tapirapé girls in that they did not have an outcurving edge (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 44 and Plates 16 and 45). Their Karajá name is walaú (ibid., 226).

[109:83] According to Krause (ibid., 227), the Karajá begin to use leg bands right after birth, and cut them off and replace

[71] 301 them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tampiitáua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankurá for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankurá and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankurá complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:191] Chapter 7

The Village and the Houses

[341] 35 At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (avuyra in Tapirapé)

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
●[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[312] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
515 a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[226] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

512 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long rhea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Boróro married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

171 361 [111:106] These data show a certain similarity between Tupinambá villages and Tampiitaua in the arrangement of the

houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrangement of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which [535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The [622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matrilocal. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 591 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the 171 361 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that 171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the 342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house 171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana 345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the 171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinanbá and with the Tupi fam- 513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos 114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270; 171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to 513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

114 171 513 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 516 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 513 841 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture. Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 513 352 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors. The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 171 352 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetö, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixú (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetö and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apũkáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apũka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
●171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
516 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other
562 men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

516 562 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, [834] however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 354 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

372 171 I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

[514] When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
● 171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

231 364 [136] [825] interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá 136 192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

171 [361] [342] [476] [764] [712] [345] To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá [352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The 171 361 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their northern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

Chapter 8

[112:51] Subsistence

The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year, February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

411 The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaú or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, amayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made [531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

●171 Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to 411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

439 Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe [101] than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with *which the Karajá* designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

•171/411 The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This [314] piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[237] The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound
[824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé)
[314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each
[237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out
[439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 411 531 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393) decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the [462] [252] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

171 314 Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou" which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 411 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 411 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 171 411 524 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower (aubí, obirú) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game called anarikámed-uohú, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 171 411 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 411 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 411 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

411 [724] [578] In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of

411 535 Tamplitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors [721] stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-

224 411 [137] called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried [683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 411 [439] [171] The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hâia, "pointed stick," or mina, "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Banaňal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-mentioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolf) 171 411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 411 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

224 171 Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

311 414 171 224 During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indicated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be 224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paresi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

224 231 Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their 171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the 231 Ampaneá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of [649] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tãteto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 535 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance [171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually, [137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

226 The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many [133] places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimí in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimakí. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned. [312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

227 At Tampitaua I saw a fish trap (chekií) consisting of a cylindrical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiŕ-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
●171 confess that I never saw the chekiŕ-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed.; the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Kamaiŕá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for flavigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

24| The Karajá plots are wretched as compared with those of the
●17| Tapirapé. I found Karajá Indians living north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River who suffered hunger for several years because they had always planted on the same spot. The Araguaia had flooded it several times, depriving them of the fruit of their labor and punishing them for their lack of foresight. The fact that this happened to a people who had known the river so thoroughly and for such a long time goes to show that they are not very adept and capable at tilling the soil. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph on p. 191 and the first paragraph on p. 192 are omitted.]

24| [113: 192] From June to August, that is to say, during the
[22] driest months of the year, the Tapirapé cut down forest growth to
[17] make new plots. The felling of trees is carried out by the method so widespread among South American tribes and also used by the White colonists of Brazil and neighboring countries. It consists of causing a whole cluster of trees to topple together by incising them in such a way that they all must fall in the same direction when their swaying neighbor leans against them from the opposite side. The largest tree in the group, usually a veritable giant, is felled in such a way that it drags to the ground along with it all its companions weakened by the axe. [Ed., the last half of p. 192 and the first paragraph of p. 193 are omitted.]

[113:193] The following note by Steere (385) refers to the
17| Yamamadí, an Aruak [Arawak] tribe of the Purus River: "The
24| first civilized men who visited them say that, at that time, they incised the trees in the shape of a belt, removing the bark with the stone ax. Then, they felled the trees by burning them with firewood piled up around their base."

Stradelli (575) provides a more detailed description of the same procedure as used by the Indians of the upper Uaupés: "The ax is used to make an initial incision all around the tree, which bruises rather than cuts the bark. When this has been done, and after a few days have elapsed to allow the bruised spot to dry or at least to wither, they pile up around the tree a lot of dry wood and then set fire to it. The bruised part, which is at least withered if the time was not sufficient for it to dry, naturally catches fire more readily than the rest. Once the fire has gone out, they remove the layer of charcoal resulting from this initial procedure and scrape the wood bare. They immediately light a new fire, then remove

171 241 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned [177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé, 174 412 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that 174 412 439 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow") through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have [177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out 241 476 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

171 512 Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirú, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth, burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

171 462

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and cará, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

231 When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaninė in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with 439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, [241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, 797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with [412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

Chapter 9

[114:185] The Diet

262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
924 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

[252] Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaí in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white carás with which we are familiar; (3) this
[177] same white carás, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kanás, "carás"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreaceâ, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white carás" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various carás; (6) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the carás plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

171 Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
824 and wrote its name as jettiki. The Tupi term was entered in the
192 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

262 Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vegetable food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, thee were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has already been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with
[192] [171] which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tanpiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia cal it

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra
824 (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
●[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel
264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

262 (2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry
824 either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanynî.

(4) The banana called abîbakîngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah´ banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

• [171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

[114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms 114 171 824 mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

262 824 It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

243 252 262 824 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 252 262 824 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 824 [462] [241] [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts, maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re- [751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 17 244 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monovĩ differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to
262 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumaná, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumaná-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[415] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

252 These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
262 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí. [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with cará or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

272 At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monoví-kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monoví-kauí." It is worth noting 114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the 191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection 272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made 272 with crumbled squash is called kuruí-kauí. Kuruí may not be [137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds [462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú [192] means "I chew," and andjahák, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing 252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two [757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled [853] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 boil the substance to be masticated, (2) they chew it and thus add to it the ferment contained in the saliva, (3) they once more heat the liquid mixed with the chewed mass (cf. Staden q 4, Léry 124, Claude d'Abbeville 302). [Ed., the remainder of p. 55 and the first two paragraphs on p. 56 are omitted.]

[116:56] The Tapirapé heat the liquid mixed with the masti-
• 171 cated mass over the embers. In this connection, it is well to quote
272 Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102), who visited Espírito Santo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and stated that "the Indians of the coast prepare cauí from manioc roots which are boiled and then chewed by the women, spit into a large pot, and covered with water. They leave it there to ferment. Also, probably to accelerate the fermenting process, they place the pan near the fire" (the italics are ours, and the original text of this sentence reads "... auch wohl um die Gährung zu befördern den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt"). The German author adds that this drink is taken, as a rule, before 24 hours have elapsed. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Drinks whose fermentation is fostered by chewing may be
272 divided into intoxicating and non-intoxicating ones. The cauí of the Tapirapé belongs in the second category, for it is taken, like the one mentioned by Freyreiss, before 24 hours have elapsed from the time of mastication. [Ed., the last three lines on p. 56, pp. 57-58, and the first paragraph on p. 59 are omitted.]

[116:59] The fermented drinks are taken by the Tapirapé either warm or unheated. For example, on the morning following my arrival in Tampiitúua in 1947, when my little friend Ampiitúnia fulfilled my wish by serving me monovi-kauí, I took it in the manner most agreeable to the Tapirapé and to myself, that is to say, good
[123] and hot. Ampiitúnia demonstrated her affection by filling up a truly gigantic pot during the night. She must have pounded and masticated a great deal. From the bubbling liquid she took out a goodly portion with a large gourd, stirred it with a smaller gourd to cool it off a little, and then placed the large gourd before me, putting into one of my hands the smaller gourd as a dish and in the other hand another gourd, still smaller, to serve as a spoon. Sitting in the girl's net, I voraciously swallowed the hot soup, sweetish and nutritious, half floury and half grainy, filling my "dish" over and over again from the large gourd until I had emptied it completely.

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated 273] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

• 171 [116:61] To summarise, we may say that the elements of the cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship 272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, got drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampiitsúa hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants [192] from the Karajá word kaluxí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluxí is to the Karajá not only what cafezinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluxí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cotton-seed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Kazajś women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Kazajś at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avdin in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaś. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 15) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4,
[117:92] l 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajś and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajś, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 28) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 36). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tamplinha use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is
[251] fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

● 171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also
252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob-
[354] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the
252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man,
462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering s book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

196 differences in size and general appearance between these two
262 rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (28) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix ho when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (ibid.). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix i, that is, kuanoí, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) kererohí -- rice rat (Calomys longicaudatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 21.

(9) anuchá -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) anochaó -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix o is augmentative.

(11) ñiavevéi' -- serelepe [Pr., *a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel*] (Sciurus spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) kuanoí -- porcupine (Coendu spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) ampereá -- cavy (Cavia aperea). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 25.

(14) ankuchí, akutí -- agouti (Dasyprocta spec.). Eaten.

(15) kanoaó -- paca (Coelogenys paca). Eaten. It is interesting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupí word paca. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

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[117:96] (16) angkampíyvuana -- capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (1, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) ypiravuíra -- white porpoise (Inia geoffroyensis). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives pirayaguara as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 603). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

196 262 or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yvyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

• 191 262 2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and *crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.*

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-te-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

[120:52]

4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

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5. Just as these four tribes differ among themselves as far as language is concerned, they also differ as far as their concept of the edible is concerned.

6. The majority of the animals eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the other three tribes are regarded, among these Indians, as exclusively male food.

7. While among the Tapirapé there are numerous mammals and birds, various reptiles, amphibians, and fish which are eaten exclusively by the men, the only male foods among the Karajá are the paca (No. 15), the coati (No. 19), the tapir (No. 27), and the spider monkey (No. 38). As for the paca, which is regarded as excellent meat by many white hunters and which is valued by the Tapirapé and Cherente of both sexes, it is well to recall that among the ancient Kaingang this rodent was eaten only by individuals who were regarded as less vulnerable to supernatural evil forces. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

8. Among the Cherente, also, the number of animals eaten exclusively by the men is small. They are: the bat (No. 1), the howling monkey (No. 37), the jabiru (No. 47), the alligator (No. 81), the teju (No. 89), the iguana (No. 90), and the electric eel (No. 114). Among these animals, the bat is not eaten by any of the other tribes in question; the howling monkey, which Cherente women do not eat "because it looks like people," is also eaten only by the men among the Tapirapé, while among the Kaingang it is eaten only by "some people" and among the Karajá by no one; the jabiru and electric eel are, among the Tapirapé, exclusively male food, while the Karajá do not eat them and the Kaingang are not familiar with them; the alligator, of which Cherente men eat the tail, is eaten among the Tapirapé only by the men while no one eats it among the Karajá and Kaingang; the teju, although its flesh is so tasty to many Whites, is not eaten by either the Tapirapé or the Karajá, and it is eaten by only a few present-day Kaingang; the iguana, which is highly prized by the Karajá, is eaten only by men among the Tapirapé and is unknown to the Kaingang. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[129:53]

9. [Ed., the first sentence is omitted.] There is no animal restricted to the women among the Tapirapé, Karajá, or Cherente. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 262 784 10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would become ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairabó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship [562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

171 262 11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

[171] 262 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

226 262 [171] In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil- [781] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

263 The pepper used by the Tapirapé and called by them ykaynia or ikeynia is apparently the bush red-pepper (Capsicum frutescens, Willd.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph on this page and at the top of p. 56 is omitted.]

[120:56] The Tapirapé are immensely fond of raw brown sugar and our salt, and eat them as soon as they get them, that is, without waiting to use them as ingredients. To my knowledge, they [171] do not replace salt with substances extracted from vegetable ashes as do the Nahuquá (Von den Steinen 2, 100), Mehinaku (ibid., 106), Kamayurá (Meyer 1, 61), and other Brazilian tribes (Staden 9, 3; Martius 2, 497). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

261 The Tapirapé, too, are great geophagists. They have no salt and suffer from worms and intestinal disorders. A wattle-and-daub house built by my companion Frederico C. Kegel alongside the village lost the clay from its walls, for the inhabitants of Tampiitaua kept breaking off small pieces all day long which they savored as though they were candy. [Ed., the remainder of p. 56, p. 57 which concludes the section in Vol. 120, and all the section in Vol. 121, pp. 79-82, are omitted.]

[122:167] If we look at the Tapirapé diet from the standpoint 146 of nutritive values, we may repeat the observation of Josué de Castro (66) about the Amazon diet in general: "It strikes one immediately as inadequate in the extreme paucity or even absence of some of the protective foods: meat, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, green vegetables, and fruits." "The amount of vitamins of the B complex contained in manioc, which is the staple food, is much smaller than that contained in cereals, rice, and wheat, the husks of which are saturated with these elements. In addition, what small quantities exist are practically destroyed in the process of preparing the flour" (ibid., 89). Also worthy of note are the following words by the same author: "... maize protein is quite incomplete, for it lacks several active acids essential to growth and organic equilibrium. Manioc, too, is very poor in proteins, poorer even than maize and qualitatively inferior to it. The Amazon dweller is saved by the fact that he does not eat pure flour as the Mexican eats maize and maize alone for days on end" (ibid., 73). In any case, various opinions were cited at the beginning of this chapter about the nutritive values of manioc flour.

171 264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aõ means "I eat," and ayõ "I drink water," the õ sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [415] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The [171] Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá 276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Auetó, and Yuruña, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This however, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg (1, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

The Life Cycle of the Individual

Birth

In Tapirapé, aán means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the sentence and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food abstentions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especialy tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these abstentions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

• 171 846 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

[224] Among certain South American tribes, the father is not permitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 933 [114] Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

842 The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitawa, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I [123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

845 Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described 842 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé [171] like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the 162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171 846 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [192] [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who [304] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

551 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkef, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaf, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaf, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaf, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraf, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytuf, "wind," and Ekonomfchinga, "white boy."

171 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão: 171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when 553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name" [translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to 553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their 171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to 551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua 551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly 171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela- 173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

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551 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

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855 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[755] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

784
855 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and continuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

855 [784] respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer 853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de [114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers [171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with [171] their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one 513 boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed 301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make 854 tamankuré for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his [422] neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect 854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

854 over so that the child lay in the shadow of the woman's nude body. Only when she reached the house did the mother hold herself erect and take the child in her arms again.

• 171 854 As a rule, when carried, the Tampiitaua child rides on the hip of the adult, who holds him with the hand. We also saw this among the Karajá (cf. also Krause 2, 276). I did not observe in either tribe the use of straps for carrying children, which I dealt with in some detail in Chapter 6. Although Tupinambá women, according to Fernão Cardim (170), carried their children "wrapped in hammock strips," they held them in the Tapirapé fashion, "like gypsies, straddling the hip." And just as among the inhabitants of Tampiitaua, so also among the ancient eastern Tupi, according to Vicente de Salvador (37), fathers as well as mothers carried the children in their arms.

171 861 Referring to the Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 147) notes that it is extremely rare for parents to speak harshly to their child or to spank him, and adds, "I never saw corrective punishment." This could be said of nearly all Brazilian tribes, and especially of the Tapirapé. Fernão Cardim (170) notes of the Tupinambá that they did not subject their children to "punishments of any sort." Among the Karajá, according to Lipkind (2, 187), "sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children" [cited in English]. Tapirapé parents usually laugh at a crying child, unless he is sick.

736 In Tampiitaua in 1935, I found nine children under ten who had neither father nor mother, six of whom were boys, namely, one of three years, three of five years, and two of eight years, and three girls between six and eight. Among the latter, one hung her net beside that of her father's brother, and another had hers in her stepmother's home. One of the five-year-old boys hung his net beside that of his father's sister. I found no close relatives for the other six orphans. The fate of the youngest one, the boy of three, was not an enviable one. He served as the village plaything, and he was the victim of everyone's moods, good and bad. He was dirty and sad. The older orphans, however, were not in such a lamentable state and were not distinguishable in behavior [127:234] from other children of the same age. According to Wagley and Galvão (4, 76), in the Tupi tribe of the Tenetehara (Guajajara) of Maranhão, only

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [724] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairabó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamby and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairabó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the •[171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioió.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, as children here so commonly do, the

[171] children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of
858 the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian
child, [127:238] however, is determined not only by the freedom
he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two
other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the
[891] Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the
adults than among us and are never different in type from the work
of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns
[921] individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he
wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for
857 the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said
968 that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy
922 of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corre-
sponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter,
the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them
go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the
fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally,
the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen.
When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and
roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé
of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and
girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow
and a woman's sifter when their owners reach puberty. This ap-
plies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs,
baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does
not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic
life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf,
help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength
and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasing-
ly productive element.

Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other
857 than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that
[201] characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs
most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I
saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for
themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and
then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask
used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar
scenes in 1947.

1:Baldus--169 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

We may say of the children of that village on the isle of Sananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to about five years of age, are called antaʃ in Tapirapé. In Suadelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (656), we find the following entry: "Taĩna, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes curumi and girl cunhantaí." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use aṁpyki for the small boy and piryngʃ for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peĩan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kutantaʃ and the latter ekonomĩ. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña taĩ for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumĩ for a "youth."

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

THE THUNDER CEREMONY

In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. Kanawana lives in his house at Mazatawa surrounded by his various supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans (*pancé-ãnawera*), messengers called *awampawa* that carry news to these *pancé ãnawera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

Topi are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

Each year in approximately late December and January, when there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi*'s canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-ãnawera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxication from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi*'s arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who made the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Metraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56, Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pentori reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated by powerful shamans (32).

(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal all sorts which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Etudes de ethnologie et d'histoire dont ces magiciens bienfaiteurs, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur sanctuaire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux, 1931, "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", in *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucuman*. T. II, p. 96).

See also the same author's: 1927, "Les migrations historiques des Tupi-Guarany" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série, T. XIX.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held great secular powers (33). Seabor Curt Nimuendajú writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans exercised such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

Case of Kamairabo

Kamairabo is a man of great prestige and has been a *pajé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous animals: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in his
756 dreams as do Pajaye and Urubumo. Kamairabo did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous ropé. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinambás et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani", p. 82. Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendajú. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Entstehung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarani", in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 46, pp. 337-338. Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sobre acculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) in *Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

that all participants in the tãtſupſũa [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtſ is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its natalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upſũa means "everything eaten."

The word tãtſupſũa may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairabó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũatanami', was a Panamĩvũĩna. As I lived in Kamairabó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtſupſũa, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kauihó, or "had kauí" (literally, "big kauí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kauí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun-heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. There were banana kauí, peanut kaní, cottonseed kauí, toasted karí, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anamxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

Ta 526 883 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

Ti [171] Ti 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaipdia (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipdia, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanf. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirí at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirí was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirí are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

5: Krause--338 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirape SP80

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285
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1. Comb.

2. Whole-gourd vessel.

3 4

Half-gourd vessels.

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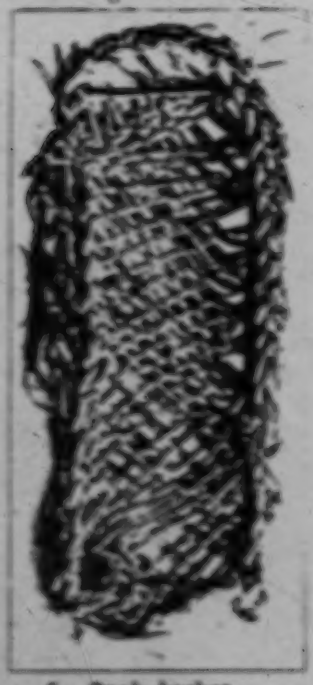

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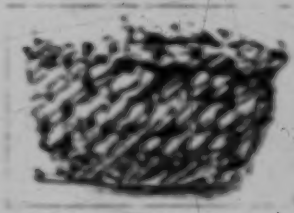

8

6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

5. Back-basket.

9. Elastic transport bag.

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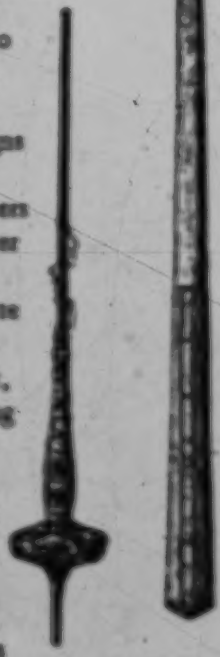
302 →

Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 171 The whole-gourd vessel (kúiã; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kãiõdi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (diõbo, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a 533 Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, 511 which is led from one corner down along the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264. Spindle.

Ill. 265. Club. Tapirapé.

/409 cont./

The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape: its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off, youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The square shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed [284] thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding between shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two [171] parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 270b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

105 171 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirapé are a people who, like the Karajá and Savajé, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

821 emekuanɨxɨ̃mpanɨ̃, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
192 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhaupúri, eviyik, and akaemerút, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amína, "rain," the rainy season; amina akĩpaík, the end of the rainy season; and amina apáɨm, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akaɨxɨ́m, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

[71] Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ína merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to íra in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanṍk (or kanṍk), ĩpĩ́tũn (or ĩpĩ́tũnã), and txãhi eni (or txãhi ãni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigcaré with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to pũnã, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kadm, "daybreak," corresponds to ... in Montoya, codma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamuna in the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, and codma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavuapũ. Montoya lists acayé, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, acajé. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow" is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mokõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mokõimi, "day before yesterday," since as a rule they do not count to mapit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mo (or mõ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

Since not only the computations of time but its direct denominations as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena. Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in question. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kafin, "daybreak," and kanõk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

THE FEAR IN TAPIRAPÉ CULTURE

Herbert Baldus

121 Fear, although its biological aspects connect mankind with the animals, assumes among ourselves characteristics which by tradition vary from people to people, that is, cultural traits. Socially determined differences exist in the externalization of fear as well as in its causes.

In certain cultures one should not show fear; in others there is nothing to prevent one from exhibiting it. There are peoples and cultural epochs which like to see their women habitually frightened and so to establish a contrast with the calmness of the men. In many South American tribes the women easily weep, tremble, cry or groan because of any danger, real or supposed, and are or pretend to be especially frightened by certain masked dances and other ceremonies performed by the men.[1] Goethe, in "Faust," when Margaret faints, exclaiming "Nachbarin! Eure Fläschchen!" ("Neighbour, your smelling-bottle!"), alludes to a common custom of his time in Europe. The modern European woman who no longer uses smelling-salts shows that such manifestations of terror are not conditioned by nature, but by culture. As regards the real female constitution it may be mentioned that "in an important study made during World War II, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (1942), Dr. R. D. Gillespie reported that in the heavily bombed areas of London and Kent almost 70 per cent more men broke down and became psychiatric casualties than women."[2]

In certain cultures death is feared, in others, not. Circumstances which produce feelings of inadequacy and consequently fear in certain societies don't exist in others. The so-called "imaginary fear"[3] which creates phantoms is found among most primitive peoples and is generally limited, among the peoples with European languages, to the less educated classes.

The Tapirapé differ from other South American tribes by concentrating the fear in both sexes, by the frequency and ease of such externalization, and by the multiplicity of causes for fear. The naturalness with which an several occasions Kamairabê, the most important Tapirapé leader, said to me: "Aby-tôd, I am afraid," is only comparable with the almost automatic memory of the Tapirapé's using the interjection "Aby" when feeling any pain, even the sting of a mosquito bite. This caused me to think frequently of the contrast presented in all that by Indians I knew in the Paraguayan Chaco, for instance of the apparent impossibility of the Chamacoco. It is true that the Tapirapé calm down with the same ease with which they are alarmed. A few words of mine were enough to make Kamairabê laugh again, speaking cordially with his wife about other things. I had the impression that among the Chaco Indians the emotions penetrated deeper, while among the Tapirapé they were like slight circles on the surface of a pond into which a little stone had been thrown, circles which soon disappear into the distance.

But among these Tupian Indians of the Araguaya basin, the externalization of fear is not restricted to interjections. We find it expressed in attitudes and intonations. We feel it, although masked, in the mechanical smile with which, from earliest infancy, they greet the person who speaks to them. We suspect it still in other aspects of their idiosyncrasies.

[p 396]

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirapé during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirapé. They plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirapé. To the "house of the gods" travelled Tumuacíri and Mukwura II, other amateur heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tumuacíri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirapé. There, too—and this is typical of Tapirapé readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non-violent death, they go immediately to Maraxawa where they live plentifully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirapé) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they may have until they head before going east to join their companions in Maraxawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirapé know of the sun, moon and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maraxawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time was out again. The morning after Wamaxomu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirapé saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people.

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[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the chronic change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinambá story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 120), which tells of Jaguarete and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumé.

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Sipáia version.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

and in myth the sun is called Anerika and the moon Tamparawa, both names of people. According to the Tapirapé, the moon is sister to the sun and is married to Anchopetori, a culture hero who was instrumental in dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirapé how to wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirapé culture bearers. Apuwerenuu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anantero, a Tapirapé woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirapé. At night he was a young man, husband of Anantero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anantero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirapé[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, cara, yams. Finally Apuwerenuu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anantero who is called Imaawenaga (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirapé point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwerenuu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are possibly only that called by the Tapirapé "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15] One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirapé. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[11] At the present time every member is divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each society carries the name of a bird: one being species of small parrakeets, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopetori lived.

[12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinambás, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally caught the Tupinambás to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with rays of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One was called there Kanjamawera (*jaw*-Tapirapé) at this time (see p. 254).

[14] Andrew Gumarai said that there was a very large tiger or dog which ate certain monsters are the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apupawera-Gumarai spoke of a celestial jaguar, and the Chaco from Chichipawera explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 30.

[15] "Les Pléiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. En avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance des racines." Métraux, *Religion des Tupinambás*, p. 30.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupí peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is so important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupí, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *tupí*. *Tupí* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small headdress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *tupí* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *tupí*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Morotawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *tupí*'s canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *tupí*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and shout until they "see" one or more *tupí*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *tupí* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *tupí*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kamowara (direct translation) is said to be called Paranoka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often ordered in times immemorial. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*tupí* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

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to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a zopé). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the zopé and he was shot down by an enemy while he was unconscious] . . . "All was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanarowna. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many zopé and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had watched Thunder's canoe he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchenga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé,[16] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, pave and dove. Thus the soul is the spirit of a chief; the dove and jave are spirits of men.[17] These always concern harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[18] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demonic class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[19] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the laymen. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[16] Speaking of Tupinambás, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*tanyuan, apuiára, ingangá* and *anchenga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[17] Animals, which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. There are tribes in which [illegible] are grouped, in a complicated and distinct system.

[18] Dogs, too, are spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anchenga* but we don't."

[19] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

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by Santo Inacio Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupí speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem, the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were sparsely people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive factors to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

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of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disoriented manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was malleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

The brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in distribution terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign disease) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Bambaiamokwa (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their late marriage

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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cipiens, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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RESUMO

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O autor compara a tribo dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé no contexto com os fatores em que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira destas tribos tornadeiras dos selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes grandemente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando sua função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em vias de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor sobe que, por um lado, a tecnologia destas tribos e seus métodos de subsistência devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Parece-lhe que, antigamente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a dobra daquela e, provàvelmente, superior. Estas últimas, em geral, não praticam restrições à procriação; o modo dos Tapirapé acha-se quase o mesmo dos Ipurina: a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem esta limitação com falta de alimento, mais decisivos e negativos parecem ser certos fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre a fecundidade das populações destas tribos, pelos fatores alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Prova que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são fatores relevantes relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser considerados, por isso, em caso de mudanças da situação demográfica.

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (manikabé) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

533 [64] [178] [177]

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

535 [241]

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

526 [171] [525]

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

276 755 [751] 276 756 [789]

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755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 [275] [289] Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (*ančunga*); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [787] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [771] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampũawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

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115 123 [526] we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in. He was always pleased when He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was [186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 123 [101] In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure 122 123 881 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion [191] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to [301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that [302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Champukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to 122 123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through [501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans- [481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next